

## The Wesleyan Movement and Women's Liberation

*Nancy A. Hardesty*

The mention of "John Wesley and women" most often conjures up fragmentary images of his bungled romance with Sophy Hopkey of Georgia, his abortive engagement to Grace Murray, and his miserable marriage to Mary Vazeille.

However, when one looks more closely at Wesley's life and the history of Methodism, one is impressed with the depth and the extent of Wesley's relationships with women and with the impact women have had on the movement. In a wealth of correspondence with women, Wesley displayed deep affection, sincere respect for them as colleagues, appreciation for their spiritual guidance, and also offered them thoughtful advice. Historian Robert Wearmouth goes so far as to suggest that "the emancipation of womanhood began with [Wesley]." Abel Stevens declares, "It may be doubted whether any section of ecclesiastical history since Mary, 'the mother of Jesus,' is richer in female characters" than Methodism.<sup>2</sup> While such claims may seem a bit grandiose, one can trace themes and currents in Wesley's own thought and practice that led Methodism to greater sympathy for women and their ministries.

Wesley's high regard for women undoubtedly stemmed from his close relationship with his mother Susanna. Popular Methodist lore long has pictured her as the epitome of Christian motherhood. She found opportunity and energy in an impoverished household to spend quality time each

week in nurturing the intellectual and spiritual lives of each of her thirteen surviving children. Susanna was also a woman of very independent mind. Her political sympathies provoked her husband Samuel to declare, "You and I must part; for if we have two kings, we must have two beds." Thereupon, he left Epworth for London and stayed away for a year. After the coronation of a new monarch, Queen Anne, he returned, and John, born in June, 1703, was the child of their reconciliation. Until her death in 1742, Susanna remained her son's closest spiritual advisor.

Other women functioned in similar roles throughout Wesley's life. Sally Kirkham ("Varanese") was his first "religious friend." She played a crucial role in guiding his spiritual development during the years around 1725, when he was ordained deacon. Later he would find more such friends in Grace Murray, Mary Bosanquet Fletcher, Hester Ann Rogers, and others.<sup>3</sup>

The stories of the lives of these women had a great effect in turn upon North American Methodists, who received their original organizational impetus from another woman, Barbara Heck.<sup>4</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century Phoebe Palmer transformed Wesley's distinctive doctrine of Christian perfection into fuel for a revival that swept both North America and the British Isles, eventually giving birth to such denominations as the Church of God, the Church of the Nazarene, the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and the Salvation Army, all of which encourage the ministry of women.

A wealth of factors combine in Wesley and in the Methodist tradition to create a climate conducive to women's spiritual growth and empowerment.

1. The first of these factors is the emphasis upon experience. Wesley's own definition is that a Methodist is one who experiences the love of God in his or her heart. Methodists speak of four sources of authority: experience, Scripture, reason, and tradition. Ideally, all function in a check-and-balance system; yet for Wesley and for many of

his followers the primary question has been simply, Is "thy heart . . . right, as my heart is with thy heart?"<sup>6</sup>

Wesley was a man of tradition—the Anglican, catholic tradition, which still is not noted for its openness to women. Yet he also drew heavily upon the mystical tradition, in which women such as Catherine of Siena, Teresa of Avila, and Madame Guyon appear almost as frequently as do men.<sup>6</sup> In addition he stood in a line of Puritan dissenters and was nurtured by Moravian pietism; both of these traditions stress experience.

His own spiritual search was for assurance—the confidence he received at Aldersgate that Christ "had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."<sup>7</sup> That experience empowered him to step outside the walls of Oxford and the Church of England pulpits to preach in fields, prisons, and market crosses. It gave him courage to stand up to mobs and bishops.

Experience, rather than history, biblical interpretation, or ecclesiastical sanction, became the hermeneutical key of Methodism. As Wesley said, in giving his approval to the preaching ministry of Mary Bosanquet,

I think the case rests here, in *your* having an extraordinary call. So I am persuaded has every one of our lay preachers; otherwise I could not countenance his preaching at all. It is plain to me, that the whole work of God termed Methodism is an extraordinary dispensation of his providence; therefore, I do not wonder if several things occur therein which do not fall under ordinary rules of discipline.<sup>8</sup>

An emphasis on experience also entailed a commitment to growth, and so he encouraged another early preacher, Sarah Crosby, in this manner: "Look to the anointing which you have of God, being willing to follow where he leads, and it shall teach you of all things."<sup>9</sup> Obedience to God's call was central. One Sarah Mallet resisted God's call to preach, which came to her through dreams, and for several years

she suffered recurring seizures which ceased only after she consented to obey. At the conference in Manchester in 1787, Wesley gave her a preaching license. "We give the right hand of fellowship to Sarah Mallet, and have no objection to her being a preacher in our connection, so long as she preaches the Methodist doctrine, and attends to our discipline."<sup>10</sup>

American women have grounded repeated defenses of their expanding ministries in the belief that it is imperative for those who have experienced justification and sanctification to give testimony to that experience. Phoebe Palmer said that her *Promise of the Father*, an argument for women's ministry, was written after she had heard the anguished testimony of a woman who felt compelled to speak and yet was rebuked by the elders of her church. Books such as *Forty Witnesses* tell of women like Osee Fitzgerald, who could not receive the "blessing" until she agreed to speak publicly, and Frances Willard, who missed the joy of that experience as long as she followed the counsel of men and kept quiet. An emphasis on experience simply required more freedom of expression for women.

2. Scripture, for Wesley and for Methodists, has always been authoritative, but not authoritarian—not an oppressive dead hand from the past but a living, helping hand. Wesley called himself *homo unius libri*, but he was not afraid to try to understand the Bible anew in the light of the questions of his day. As he wrote to Bosanquet, "St. Paul's ordinary rule was, 'I permit not a woman to speak in the congregation.' Yet, in extraordinary cases, he made a few exceptions."<sup>11</sup> Bosanquet was to be one of Wesley's exceptions! Adam Clarke, an early Methodist Bible commentator, laid the foundation for women's rights when he asserted, concerning Galatians 3:28, "Under the blessed spirit of Christianity, [women] have equal rights, equal privileges, and equal blessings, and let me add, they are equally useful."<sup>12</sup>

Nineteenth-century American Methodists produced a shelf full of biblical reinterpretations on the relationship between the sexes and on the role of women in ministry.<sup>13</sup> In addition to earlier arguments grounded in creation, the *imago dei*, and equality in Christ, further arguments were developed based in the promise of Pentecost: "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy" (Acts 2:17, quoting Joel 2:28). Equality of the sexes was to be one of the visible marks of God's coming kingdom.

3. Because it has interpreted the Scriptures according to their spirit rather than their letter, Methodism has not been encumbered by a legalistic reading of culturally conditioned biblical restrictions on women. All persons are endowed by God with reason, said Wesley—with the ability and the responsibility for making choices. Although reason cannot supply faith, hope, or love, Wesley encouraged his followers to "let reason do all that reason can: Employ it as far as it will go."<sup>14</sup> This led to a practical, pragmatic, innovative style; it permitted a freedom, almost a responsibility, to be experimental.

Thus, for example, Wesley, the Anglican priest and Oxford don, allowed lay preaching. Susanna encouraged him at the inception of the practice, "Beware what you do; for [lay preacher] Thomas Maxfield is as much called to preach the gospel as ever you were!"<sup>15</sup> Since she herself was the one who had encouraged Wesley's own ordination, this statement carried weight. She also may have been speaking from her personal experience, for when John was about ten years old and his father was off to London again, Susanna began to read devotional books and sermons to her household, in addition to the regular family prayers on Sunday nights. Before long some two hundred people were "dropping by." When Samuel heard the news and objected, in part because she was a woman, she replied,

As I am a woman, so I am also mistress of a large family. And though the superior charge of the souls contained in it lies upon you, as head of the family, and as their minister; yet in your absence I cannot but look upon every soul you leave under my care as a talent committed to me, under a trust, by the great Lord of all the families of heaven and earth.<sup>16</sup>

After an exchange of letters, Susanna finally reached the bottom line.

If you do, after all, think fit to dissolve this assembly, do not tell me that you desire me to do it, for that will not satisfy my conscience; but send me your positive command, in such full and express terms as may absolve me from all guilt and punishment, for neglecting this opportunity of doing good, when you and I shall appear before the great and awful tribunal of our LORD JESUS CHRIST.<sup>17</sup>

No further correspondence or any other record that the Sunday evening services were discontinued has been found.

As early as 1739, Wesley appointed women as class leaders in Bristol, and they were soon prominent at every level of Methodist work, including the itineracy. In the United States women were not circuit riders, as far as we know (although women such as United Brethren preacher Lydia Sexton and evangelist Eunice "Mother" Cobb did itinerate in local areas), yet holiness women, in particular, developed their own creative vehicles for ministry in Tuesday meetings, Bible readings, camp meetings, and the like.

It was evident that women had the gifts and graces; therefore Wesley did not refuse them the leadership roles in the movement through which those gifts could be employed to God's glory and for the blessing of others.

4. Women were especially prominent among those who professed entire sanctification—something Wesley taught but never testified to having experienced himself. The

stories of Mary Bosanquet Fletcher and Hester Ann Rogers became legendary.

In 1835 Sarah Lankford experienced the assurance of entire sanctification; two years later her sister Phoebe Palmer had a similar crisis experience, and together they founded the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness. In the beginning, they studied and taught the process spoken of in Wesley's *Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, but Palmer was repeatedly asked, "Is there not a shorter way?" She outlined her affirmative reply in *The Way of Holiness* (1846), building on the logic of revivalist Charles G. Finney, who preached that "religion is something to *do*, not something to *wait for*." He argued that "when God commands us to do a thing, it is the highest possible evidence that we can do it." The problem is not one of "cannot" but "will not." As Finney said, "It is not a question of *feeling* but of *willing* and *acting*."<sup>18</sup> Both friends and foes termed this theory "immediatism," as opposed to "gradualism"—and it applied to conversion, sanctification, and reform.

Palmer began with the premise that "God requires *present* holiness." Since God does not command us to do a thing without providing a way for us to accomplish it, Palmer declared that the first step is to consecrate all to God. Volumes of subsequent testimony show that "all" usually included material possessions, children, and spouse. For women, there were usually two more questions from God: Will you risk your reputation? and, Will you speak publicly? Using rather dubious biblical exegesis, Palmer termed this consecration "laying all upon the altar" and declared that "whatever *touch*ed the altar became holy, virtually the *Lord's property, sanctified to His use*." Since God has declared this to be true, Palmer asserted, persons who consecrate everything to God may then simply claim the "blessing" and testify publicly to sanctification, whether

or not they receive any inner assurance from the Holy Spirit. One claims God's promise by faith, not by feeling.<sup>19</sup>

Thus holiness for Palmer was not the culmination of a lifelong process but an initial experience. Rather than seeing sanctification as growing "unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ" (Eph. 4:13), she saw it in terms of Pentecost—"And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost" (Acts 2:4). As she declared repeatedly, "HOLINESS is POWER."<sup>20</sup> "Holiness is a gift of power, and, when understandingly received by either old or young disciples, nerves for holy achievement."<sup>21</sup> Holiness or perfection thus implies both a critique of the status quo and the moral power to challenge and change it. It is a call to transformation of the individual and also of the society.

5. Power for this transformation is universally available by God's grace and through the gift of the Holy Spirit. While Wesley believed in original sin, he argued that it was total in its pervasiveness but not in its destructiveness. All have sinned and do sin, yet all are also the recipients of prevenient grace—a consciousness of good and evil and the ability to choose the good. Sin is not a nature but a disease. Holiness is wholeness and health. Healing grace is freely and abundantly available to all. Thus Wesley and his followers seldom are bogged down in pessimistic contemplation of sin. Rather, to cite an inclusive translation of Oral Roberts' favorite verse, Wesleyans are confident that "greater is God who is in you, than the god of this world!" (I John 4:4—author's translation). Genesis 3 is not the last word; nor even is the earthly life of Jesus, for he said, "Greater works than these shall [you] do; because I go unto my Father" (John 14:12).

Both within Wesley's life and within later Methodism there was a growing emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. Donald W. Dayton has traced a shift from Wesley's more Christocentric formulation of Christian perfection to John Fletcher's "baptism of the Holy Ghost." A similar shift

in emphasis took place in American perfectionism, culminating finally in the advent of pentecostalism.<sup>22</sup> Wesley spoke of the Spirit as giving assurance; Palmer emphasized the Spirit's empowering.

There is ever one standing in their midst, who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost and with fire. The gift is truly for the Marys and the Susannas as for the Peters and Johns. When the Holy Ghost descended, it fell alike upon them all. . . . There was a great work to be done, and therefore, they *all* . . . spoke as the Spirit gave utterance. . . . And who would dare to say that Christianity has lost any of its power. Spirit-beings men and women are still mighty in their sayings and doings.<sup>23</sup>

6. A final factor in the Methodist tradition which opened up leadership roles for women was its emphasis on social outreach. Wesley's concept of salvation—justification and sanctification—was never simply an individualistic vision, but incorporated a strong concept of social service. For Wesley, the kingdom of God was "not barely a future happy state in heaven, but a state to be enjoyed on earth, . . . the gospel dispensation, in which subjects were to be gathered to God by his Son, and a society to be formed, which was to subsist first on earth, and afterward with God in glory."<sup>24</sup> Holiness was to be both inward and outward. Though the Moravians counseled stillness, Wesley never gave up the good works he had practiced so assiduously at Oxford.

Simultaneously with their building of meeting houses, the early Methodists built schools, orphanages, and hostels. At Laytonstone, Mary Bosanquet started a charity school for destitute orphans, which became also a "preaching-house," "a sanctuary for the devout, and a home for preachers."<sup>25</sup> One of her assistants, Sarah Ryan, had been housekeeper at Wesley's earliest school in Kingswood.

American Methodists also were heavily involved in such

social issues as temperance, relief, abolition, and eventually, women's rights. Phoebe Palmer founded the Five Points Mission—a forerunner of the settlement house—in one of New York's worst slums. Wesleyan Methodist abolitionist Luther Lee defended the right of women to attend temperance conventions and preached the ordination sermon for Antoinette Brown, the first woman to be ordained—as a Congregationalist.<sup>26</sup> Quaker abolitionist Laura Haviland became a Methodist preacher.<sup>27</sup> The first women's rights convention was held in the Seneca Falls Wesleyan Methodist Church, and Methodist laywoman Frances Willard used the Women's Christian Temperance Union to further women's suffrage.

Yet as Palmer noted, "It is humiliating to refer to the manner in which female gifts of the highest order, and most manifestly intrusted by Christ, have been slighted and ultimately rejected" by the church.<sup>28</sup> Or as Catherine Mumford Booth cried,

Oh, that the ministers of religion would search the original records of God's word in order to discover whether the general notions of society are not wrong on this subject, and whether God really intended woman to bury her gifts and talents, as she now does, with reference to the interests of His Church! O that the Church generally would inquire whether narrow prejudice and lordly usurpation has not something to do with the circumscribed sphere of woman's religious labors, and whether much of the non-success of the Gospel is not attributable to the restrictions imposed upon the operations of the Holy Ghost in this.<sup>29</sup>

Yet within Methodism and the wider Wesleyan milieu since the Wesleys, there has been a climate consistently conducive to the liberation of women from the patriarchy of traditional Christianity and leading to the continued growth of all people into the fullness of Christ, in whom there is neither male nor female.

53. *OE*, 1 (August 14, 1839), p. 138.
54. *OE*, 2 (May 6, 1840), p. 76. Cf. the letters in the same series in the two succeeding issues: (May 20, 1840), p. 84; (June 3, 1840), p. 92. Finney composed these letters shortly after completing the last seven lectures in the series on Christian perfection, printed in *OE* from January through mid-April, 1840, and in July of the same year, in his *Views of Sanctification*. These concluding lectures recapitulated the logic of the earliest ones in the series and do not employ the terminology of Pentecost, which led scholars (including myself), who previously relied chiefly on that volume and neglected to read the *Evangelist* carefully, to suppose that Finney did not at this state teach the doctrine of the baptism of the Holy Spirit.
55. *OE*, 1 (August 14, 1839), p. 140.
56. I am instructed on this point by Joseph H. Smith, "The Psychoanalytic Understanding of Human Freedom: Freedom From and Freedom For," *The Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, vol. 26 (1978), pp. 87-107.

#### Chapter 7. Donald W. Dayton

1. *Newsweek* (October 25, 1976).
2. George Gallup, Jr., "US in Early Stages of Religious Revival?" *Journal of Current Social Issues*, vol. 14 (Spring 1977), pp. 50-55.
3. Dean Kelley, *Why Conservative Churches are Growing* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972).
4. Ralph Winter, review of several recent books on evangelicalism, *Christianity Today* (April 9, 1976), p. 38.
5. Heinrich Bornkamm thus explicates *The Heart of Reformation Faith* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965).
6. Ian Bradley, *The Call to Seriousness* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1976), p. 22.
7. For this concept, cf. Winthrop Hudson, "The Methodist Age in America," *Methodist History*, vol. 12 (April 1974), pp. 3-15; C. C. Goen, "The 'Methodist Age' in American Church History," *Religion in Life*, vol. 34 (1964-65), pp. 562-72.
8. David F. Wells and John D. Woodbridge, *The Evangelicals* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), reissued in paperback (Grand Rapids: Baker, Book House, 1977) with a new chapter on the holiness/pentecostal traditions—added in part in response to criticisms of the book by Timothy Smith and myself.
9. Martin Marty, *The New Shape of American Religion* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 28.
10. Cf. James E. Hamilton, "Academic Orthodoxy and the Arminianizing of American Theology," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol. 9 (Spring 1974), pp. 52-59.
11. Smith, *Revivalism*.
12. Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 201.

13. Robert Whalen, "Millenarianism and Millennialism in America, 1790-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1972).
14. See his various writings on the subject, but especially Ernest R. Sandeen, *The Roots of Fundamentalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).
15. Cf. especially the pioneering work of Smith, *Revivalism and Called Unto Holiness* (Kansas City: Nazarene Publishing House, 1962); Melvin Dieter, "Revivalism and Holiness" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1973); and the work of Charles Jones, *Perfectionist Persuasion* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974) and *A Guide to the Study of the Holiness Movement* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1974).
16. Robert Mapes Anderson, *Vision of the Disinherited: The Making of American Pentecostalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 5.
17. See for example, Ronald Nash, *The New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1963).
18. Richard Quebedeaux, *Young Evangelicals* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
19. Howard Lindsell, *Battle for the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1976).
20. Dayton, *Evangelical Heritage*.
21. Carl Henry, *Uneasy Conscience* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1947).
22. Cf. John Oliver, "A Failure of Evangelical Conscience," *The Post American*, vol. 4 (May 1975), pp. 26-30.
23. Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1975).
24. Anne C. Loveland, "Evangelicalism and 'Immediate Emancipation' in American Antislavery Thought," *Journal of Southern History*, vol. 32 (May 1966).
25. John L. Hammond, "Revival Religion and Anti-Slavery Politics," *American Sociological Review*, vol. 39 (April 1974).
26. Cf. Luther Lee, "Women's Right to Preach the Gospel," *Five Sermons and a Tract by Luther Lee*, ed. and intro. Donald W. Dayton (Chicago: Holrad House, 1975).
27. B. T. Roberts, *Ordaining Women* (Rochester, N.Y.: Earnest Christian Publishing House, 1891).
28. Seth Cook Rees, *The Ideal Pentecostal Church* (Cincinnati: Martin Wells Knapp at the Revivalist Office, 1897), p. 41.
29. Mrs. J. Fowler Willing, "Women and the Pentecost," *Guide to Holiness*, vol. 68 (January 1898), p. 21.

#### Chapter 8. Nancy A. Hardesty

1. Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Epworth Press, 1945), p. 223.

NOTES FOR PAGES 164-172

2. Abel Stevens, *The Women of Methodism* (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1866), pp. 10-11.
3. See Stevens, *Women of Methodism*; Henry Moore, *The Life of Mrs. Mary Fletcher* (New York: Carlton & Lanahan, 1856), and *An Account of the Experience of Hester Ann Rogers* (New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1889); Annie E. Keeling, *Eminent Methodist Women* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1889); John Kirk, *The Mother of the Wesleys* (London: Henry James Tresidder, 1864); Helen Knight, *Lady Huntington and Her Friends* (New York: American Tract Society, 1853).
4. W. H. Withrow, *Barbara Heck* (London: Robert Culley, 1893).
5. Outler, *John Wesley* (1974), p. 99.
6. Robert G. Tuttle, Jr., *John Wesley* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1978), pp. 47, 58.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
8. Stevens, *Women of Methodism*, pp. 63-64.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 82.
10. Phoebe Palmer, *Promise of the Father* (Boston: Henry V. Degen, 1859), pp. 115, 117.
11. Stevens, *Women of Methodism*, p. 64.
12. Adam Clarke, *Commentary* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1883), Galatians 3:28 (vol. 6, p. 402).
13. See for example, Luther Lee, *Woman's Right to Preach the Gospel* (Syracuse: the Author, 1853); Phoebe Palmer, *Promise of the Father*; Catherine Mumford Booth, *Female Ministry* (London: n.p., 1859; reprinted, New York: Salvation Army Headquarters, 1975); David Sherman, "Woman's Place in the Gospel," preface to John O. Foster, *Life and Labors of Mrs. Maggie Newton Van Cott* (Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, 1872), preface; Frances Willard, *Woman in the Pulpit* (Boston: D. Lothrop Co., 1888); Roberts, *Ordaining Women*.
14. *Works*, 6, pp. 350-60.
15. Adam Clarke, *Memoirs of the Wesley Family* (New York: Lane & Tippett, 1848; reprinted Taylors, S.C.: Van Hooser Publications, 1976), p. 412.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 387.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 393.
18. Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, ed. William G. McLoughlin (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 207, 372n.
19. Phoebe Palmer, *The Way of Holiness* (New York: the Author, 1854), pp. 19, 63-4, 38.
20. Richard Wheatley, *The Life and Letters of Mrs. Phoebe Palmer* (New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1876), p. 67.
21. Walter C. Palmer and Phoebe Palmer, *Four Years in the Old World* (New York: W. C. Palmer, Jr., 1870), p. 635.
22. Donald W. Dayton, "The Doctrine of the Baptism of the Holy Spirit: Its Emergence and Significance," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, vol. 13 (Spring 1978), pp. 114-26; "Theological Roots of Pentecostalism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1980).

NOTES FOR PAGES 172-187

23. Phoebe Palmer, "Model Revival," *Guide to Holiness*, vol. 46 (September 1864), p. 61.
24. *Notes*, Matt. 3:2 (p. 22).
25. Stevens, *Women of Methodism*, p. 61.
26. Lee, *Five Sermons*.
27. Laura S. Haviland, *A Woman's Life-Work* (Chicago: Publishing Association of Friends, 1889).
28. Palmer, *Promise of the Father*, p. 361.
29. F. de L. Booth-Tucker, *The Life of Catherine Booth*, vol. 1 (London: Salvation Army Headquarters, 1892), p. 86.

Chapter 9. James H. Cone

1. The earliest publication on black theology was by James H. Cone, *Black Theology and Black Power*; see also James Cone, *A Black Theology of Liberation, The Spirituals and the Blues* (New York: Seabury Press, 1972), and *God of the Oppressed* (New York: Seabury Press, 1975). Other writers on the subject include J. Deotis Roberts, *Liberation and Reconciliation: A Black Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1971) and *A Black Political Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1974); Major Jones, *Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1971); William Jones, *Is God a White Racist?* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1973); Cecil Cone, *The Identity Crisis in Black Theology*. For a historical account of the development of black religion and black theology, see Gayraud S. Wilmore, *Black Religion and Black Radicalism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1972) and G. Wilmore and J. Cone, eds., *Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1979).
2. Cecil Cone, *Identity Crisis*.
3. From "I Told Jesus," Roberta Flack's record album, "First Take," Atlantic Recording Corp., New York, 1969.
4. W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Fawcett Publications, 1968), pp. 141-42.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
6. "Prophet, Prophetism," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, George A. Buttrick et al., vol. 3 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 912.
7. See Clifton Johnson, ed., *God Struck Me Dead* (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1969).
8. Harold Carter, *The Prayer Tradition of Black People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1976), p. 21.
9. A prayer offered in South Nashville, Tennessee, in the summer of 1928 and reproduced in Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps, *Book of Negro Folklore* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1958), p. 256.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.
11. Richard Allen, *The Life Experience and Gospel Labors of the Right Reverend Richard Allen* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 29. For